1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1
Northeast Brazil SO1

000

[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

B
BB
NG
585
586
671

[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

BB
182
541
883

[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

BB
127

[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

BB
162
163

[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

BB
128

[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

BB
175
635
567
652
B
175
567
B
[643]
BB
•[671]

In 1881 the Bahian provincial assembly created an emancipation fund "to free slaves in this province."[87] On March 25, 1884, slavery was abolished in the province of Ceará, the culmination of fifteen months of municipal emancipation.[88] Similar action was taken by the provinces of Amazonas and Maranhão later in the same year. In 1885 all Negroes over sixty years of age were liberated by edict of the Brazilian emperor.[89] In 1886

[87] Law No. 2146 of May 14, 1881, sponsored by Deputies Marcolino Moura, Alexandre Herculano, Frederico Lisboa, and Virgilio de Carvalho. Articles 2 and 3 read as follows:

ARTICLE 2.—This Emancipation Fund shall be derived:

SECTION 1. From each and every provincial tax relative to slaves, including the inheritance and legacy stamps.

SEC. 2. From the returns of an annual lottery of 100 contos.

SEC. 3. From the donations of individuals and of philanthropic associations.

SEC. 4. From legacies left or set up for the benefit of the fund.

SEC. 5. From the payment of a tax obligatory for this purpose by every dramatic and musical company which shall play in the Theatro Publico.

ART. 3.—The distribution of this Emancipation Fund shall be in the hands of each *municipio* in accordance with Article 26 of Statute 5135 of the thirteenth of November, 1872.

The seventh apportionment from this fund, made by act of Governor Theodoro Machado on May 13, 1886, amounted to 59 contos, 723$244 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

B
[527]
[668]

[88] The *Rio News* of April 5, 1884, reported a week's festival being at that time held in Rio in celebration of emancipation in Ceará. Large sums were realized from donations and bazaars, several slaves were liberated, and a movement set on foot to secure complete emancipation in Rio also. On September 28, 1887, there was held at Belem a "redemption celebration" to which flocked "the press, the abolition societies, the Masons, leaders of the city's commercial life, many women, and the people." One hundred and nine *Cartas de Liberdade* were distributed. On the following day, the *Provincio do Pará*, one of the leading abolition journals of Brazil, published an editorial suggesting a *liga redemptora*, whose program would be that of seeking to secure complete emancipation in the Belem *municipio* by the following December 31 (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 548).

B
[671]

[89] The provisions of this law freed slaves from sixty to sixty-two years of age on the condition that they serve three additional years without remuneration. Slaves sixty-three years of age were to serve two additional years; those sixty-four, one additional year.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
*563
461
[464]
B
BB
175
*563
582
[671]
B
[184]

Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [3d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

B
BB
175
567
[527]
[311]
[671]
[428]

The two days in seven which according to custom the master allotted the slave for the cultivation of a plot of land[44] was as early as 1700 sanctioned in law.[45] His right in property could be transferred to his children.[46] He could

"a great deal depends upon the inclinations of the master, he will, however, be very careful in refusing to manumit, owing to the well-known opinion of every priest in favor of this regulation, to the feelings of the individuals of his own class in society, and to those of the lower orders of people; and likewise he will be afraid of losing his slave. He may escape with his money; and the master will then run much risk of never seeing him again, particularly if the individual is a creole slave. . . . . The master might indeed deprive the slave of the fruits of his labor, but this is never thought of; because the slave preserves his money in a secret place, or he has entrusted it to some person upon whom he can depend, and would suffer any punishment rather than disclose the spot in which his wealth lies concealed."

[44] "This day [Sunday] . . . . is the Negroes' own; after morning mass they are free to do their own will; and then most of them run to the hill to gather their coffee or maize, or prepare the ground for these or vegetables. They were just beginning to return from the wood, each with his . . . . basket laden with something of his own, something in which the master had no share; and again and again as they passed me, and displayed with glistening eye the little treasure, I blessed the Sabbath, the day of freedom to the slave" (Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 288).

[45] João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brazil* (3d rev. ed.; Rio, 1909), p. 255.

[46] However, if the slave died childless, his property reverted to the master. Note the following account given by Maria Graham regarding a slave on an estate in the province of Rio: "He was a mulatto boatman, the most trusty servant on the estate, and rich, because he is industrious enough to have earned a good deal of private property, besides doing his duty to his master. In his youth, and he is not now old, he had become attached to a creole woman, born, like him on the estate; but he did not marry her until he had earned money enough to purchase her, in order that their children, if they had any, might be born free. Since that time, he has become rich enough to purchase himself, even at the high price which such a slave might fetch; but his master will not sell him his freedom, his services being too valuable to lose, notwithstanding his promise to remain on the estate and work. Unfortunately, these people have no children; therefore on their death their property, now considerable, will revert to the master" (*op. cit.*, pp. 197–98).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[38]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[39] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[40] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[41] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[42] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[43] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[40] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[41] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [42] *Ibid.* [43] *Op. cit.*, I, 229 n.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

senhores de engenho, fasendeiros, etc.[10] Often they were runaway slaves.[11] In the cities they became masons, cobblers, tinsmiths, soldiers, actors, and at times reached even the small bourgeoisie.[12]

The mulatto, owing to his closer approximation in physical characteristics to the European, was better able than the Negro to appropriate certain symbols of status—the small shoe and the little boot, for instance, the wearing of which was an important index of social standing in colonial and imperial Brazil.[13] Small feet, particularly among women, were for a long time, and still are, fashionable.

As the mulatto rose in class, he came to occupy something

[10] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, pp. 190–91, 205, 238.

[11] "I heard of a mulatto slave who ran away from his master; and in the course of years had become a wealthy man, by the purchase of lands which were overrun with cattle. He had, on one occasion, collected in pens great numbers of oxen which he was arranging with his herdsmen to dispatch to different parts for sale, when a stranger who came quite alone, made his appearance, and rode up and spoke to him, saying that he wished to have some private conversation with him. After a little time they retired together; and when they were alone the owner of the estate said, "I thank you for not mentioning the connection between us, whilst my people were present." It was his master, who had fallen into distressed circumstances, and had now made this visit in hopes of obtaining some trifle from him. He said that he would be grateful for anything his slave chose to give him. To reclaim him, he well knew, was out of the question—he was in the man's power, who might order him to be assassinated immediately. The slave gave his master several hundred oxen, and directed some of his men to accompany him with them to a market, giving out among his herdsmen, that he had thus paid a debt of old standing, for which he had only now been called upon" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817], I, 244–45).

[12] Vianna, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In 1774 a law opened to *homens pardos* access "to all offices, honors and dignities, without discrimination on account of difference in color" (*Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, XXXVII [1913], 85). See also Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937–39), I, 168.

[13] "The use of shoes and little boots, which was at first almost entirely limited to persons recently arrived from Portugal, spread among those men

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

custom is to some extent recognized in law.[6] Usually the children take the mother's name, but occasionally the father "recognizes" and registers them, so that they legally bear his name. They are sometimes taken into the legitimate household, where they are usually accepted without serious question by the legal wife.[7]

Particularly among the lower classes, illegitimacy is not seriously prejudicial to the child. Personal qualities and individual ability largely determine his role and status; his parentage is rather naturally considered to be a matter beyond his control. A surname is not of great importance, the given name being infinitely more used, even among the upper classes. Prominent intellectual and political figures are known throughout the city by their given names. A stranger

and Portugal. Their eldest daughter is studying to be a pianist. There are three younger children. The man also supports another mulatto woman, said to be "very young and very pretty."

[6] A single extra-marital amorous experience makes a woman liable to prosecution for adultery, whereas for a man such conduct must not only be proved to be habitual but also to have involved an established relationship with a *single* individual. For a wife to have cause for legal action, she must previously have been ignorant of the extra-legal affair of her husband. Otherwise, her implied acquiescence constitutes participation in guilt.

[7] One wife said of her husband's "natural" child, "He's a fine boy. I like him as much as, or more than, my own children." In 1911 an American consul at Pará wrote: "In Amazonia the father assumes all the responsibility and legally adopts his illegitimate children who, in a majority of cases, become a part of his own family, taking an equal place in social privileges with those children within the bounds of the church regulations. . . . . There is no disposition in the higher social circles to discriminate against the number of these illegitimate aristocrats who, in the matter of education, refinement and address, are often the superior of some of those born in wedlock in the same families . . . . [and are], in many prominent cases, the acknowledged leaders of society" (J. Orton Kerbey, *An American Consul in Amazonia* [New York, 1911], p. 119).

[SALVADOR]

/46 cont./

*563 441 [186] although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disappear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to become interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates, so that the dark employees that they have among them never occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also contributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this [233] [472] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves in the city during the second half of the last century and who turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated. Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some *563 472 256 441 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves and their immediate descendants participate. In order to maintain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed through the immigration of young men of the same nationality, who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the *563 472 441 [175] [848] [428] [671] Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only from the economic point of view, but especially from the social and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant [256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the property of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them almost completely, that they now control this type of business entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

/63 cont./

* 563 545 [873] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater

• [671] [692] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 668 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 • 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

[SALVADOR]

/102 cont./

*563 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in gen-
671 eral; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise
829 again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is
829 only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial
[565] society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as
[564] a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is
[555] impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle